donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 439 484 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 484 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

439 484 608 651

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
484 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day,
608 when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet,
651 the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chin[illegible] the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I. once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

434 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
583 with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM 301

M 585 Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M 571 777 484 Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

/63/

Mo 585 484 784 The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

[28 cont.]

756
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.]
was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

•[484]

Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which [532] usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

[484]

[346]

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
757 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p. 48(A)]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the monastery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées. 792 484 651

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects. 792 691

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good relations with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries. 792 692

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries. 792 692 661

[p. 48(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [554]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

[P.52(A)]

commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

792 874

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

782 792

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

[1984] ●

After the second vows, the scientific and religious education is complete. The lama can then read a text more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

792 874

[p. 57(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without having attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

[p.96(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [437 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

[P.12(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

[P. 14(B)]

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a*–*b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated